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18 March 1980

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 6/80)

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INTERNATIONAL

YU. A. KRASIN DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 11, 1979 pp 90-104

[Article by Yu. A. Krasin: "The Dialectic of the General and the Specific in the Modern Revolutionary Process"]

[Text] The revolutionary age of change from capitalism to socialism which mankind is now experiencing is distinguished by a depth of social transformations and rates of social progress, the likes of which have never before been known in history. New social phenomena and processes originate practically every day and the turbulent flow of revolutionary changes, previously unknown forms of economic, social and political relations arise and the arsenal of means, devices and methods for the historical activity of the masses, classes and parties is augmented.

The inexhaustible diversity of the modern world revolutionary process is striking and it incites the imagination. It can not be accommodated by any previously developed theoretical schemes and one sometimes unwittingly doubts that it is even possible to contain the changes that are taking place within the framework of a single theoretical idea. What is new, original and specific each day, erupting to the surface, ends up in the foreground, as if it is shielding general, profound, stable connections and making it difficult to recognize them. It becomes possible to make one-sided, erroneous evaluations. One step in this direction and the chain of time disintegrates and the overall patterns of the modern social revolution dissolve into an infinite diversity of specific peculiarities. In order to avoid this and to understand the diversity of revolutionary transformations in their internal unity, to perceive the connection of times in this dynamic age and its overall patterns, it is necessary to apply a dialectical means of thinking which discloses the dialectic between the general and the particular in the process of mankind's change from capitalism to socialism.

The relationship between the general and the specific is one of the essential problems of the philosophy of history. It is that eternal problem which arises anew in each stage of historical development. In our time this problem is especially crucial because of two circumstances. First, in the revolutionary process new and unusual phenomena are revealed to an

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ever increasing degree. There arises a critical need for a creative search for answers to new questions that are advanced by revolutionary practice. Marxist-Leninist parties are engaged in this search. And yet in this uniqueness, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in a speech devoted to the 60th anniversary of Great October, one can clearly trace all those common features and problems that the working class has faced in the past. Second, the problem of the general and the specific has become the focus of the modern ideological struggle of the workers' and communist movements. One can say that the question of the relationship between the general and the particular in the revolutionary process is that nexus in which the most important methodological problems of the theory of the socialist revolution are joined together.

A Dialectical Understanding of the Patterns of the Revolutionary Process

An explanation of the relationship between the general and the specific provides a key to a dialectical understanding of the patterns of the change-over from capitalism to socialism. These patterns also reflect those general features and general connections which, with all the uniqueness of the revolutionary movement in various countries, are inevitably manifested in the struggle of the working class and its allies for a socialist transformation of society.

In recent years certain theoreticians, claiming a creative development of Marxism, are again casting doubt on the existence of general patterns in the development of the revolutionary process. In the majority of cases these patterns are recognized in words. But at the same time it is noted that they produce very little for an understanding of the actual situation in one specific country or another or for the development of a strategy and tactics for the communist party of a given country.

The theoretical basis of this skeptical position is not at all new. The basic theoretical arguments in defense of this position have already been exhausted by representatives of the so-called Freiburg School of Neokantianism--W. Windelband, H. Rickert and others. It is quite appropriate to recall the half-forgotten works of these philosophers since today, under the guise of theoretical innovations, essentially the same arguments as those made by the Neokantians are reproduced. H. Rickert, for example, stated: "History can try to depict reality not with a view to what is general, but only with a view to the particular, since only the particular actually takes place."¹

The main argument of the Neokantians was this reference to the uniqueness of historical events. Their uniqueness is interpreted as an absence of that common nature which comprises the basis of the action of law. In fact, present theoreticians who deny the objective laws of social development or minimize their role are using the same argument.

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In their interpretation of history the Neokantians finally arrived at a teleological position. Since from their point of view there are no laws in history, a generalized description of it is possible only as a result of the correlation of unique phenomena and events with a certain system of values and goals. ". . . in no case are there laws," H. Rickert wrote regarding this, "only values should ever be applied as a guiding principle for interpreting any single series of stages of development since only with respect to them can the individual become essential."² Epigons of Neokantian philosophy, no matter how they try to conceal it under the name of creative Marxism, arrive at the same teleological positions that were held by H. Rickert. Defaming the conquests of the real socialist society, they interpret socialism as some abstract system of "model" of values. Such is actual development of philosophical thought. As early as the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries Marxists gave battle to Neokantianisms on essential questions of the philosophy of history. One must recall this because we are again dealing with similar attempts using the same methods to refute the essential premises of a Marxist materialist understanding of history.

Usually ideological opponents of communism represent the Marxist understanding of the dialectic of the general and the specific in a distorted form. They ascribe to Marxists an idealistic idea, according to which the general is considered to be independent of actual social relations. It is not specific history that gives it content but, on the contrary, content gives history life, initially in relation to it. As distinct from Hegelianism, in the Marxist understanding the general is always organically linked to the particular and exists only in it and through it. In his "philosophical notebooks" V. I. Lenin especially emphasized that the general, taken abstractly, is dead and incomplete. He thought that Marxists should consider the universal as that which embodies the wealth of the specific, the individual and the separate."³

Preceding from the insoluble unity of the general and the specific, V. I. Lenin spoke resolutely against a doctrinaire understanding of general patterns of historical development and against the doctrinaire mode of thinking that ensues from such a mode of understanding. He decisively condemned a "striving to distort answers to specific problems in the simple logical development of general truth . . ."⁴

It is instructive that this idea was expressed by Lenin in direct connection with his evaluation of the development of the revolutionary process, in a polemic with ideologues of Menshevism regarding the nature of the Russian revolution. The mode of thinking of the latter is typically doctrinaire. The overall doctrine is placed above reality. Since the revolution in Russia is bourgeois, these doctrinaire thinkers considered, it means that the main motive force of this revolution is bourgeois. In this thinking there is not a trace of specific analysis of the actual historical situation. Lenin decisively moves away from doctrinairism and turns toward the actual Russian reality. He places the general truth of Marxism concerning

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character of the revolution on the actual soil of Russian reality and discovers that, although the revolution is bourgeois in nature, certain qualitative characteristics of a new historic age are inherent in it. The revolution approached under conditions wherein capitalism itself as a social system had entered a stage of decline, when the international working class had come to the forefront of political life. These changes in the alignment of social and class forces could not but be reflected in the content and character of the Russian revolution. It was impossible to bypass the bourgeois-democratic revolution. But it opened up real possibilities for the working class to take over hegemony in it. Thus real prospects were established for this revolution to grow into a socialist revolution.

The Leninist dialectical method of thinking places the problem of analyzing the nature of the revolutionary process on the soil of the specific investigation of the actual situation. This approach makes it possible to understand those particular features and directions of the development of the revolutionary process which ensue from the uniqueness of the historical conditions of one age or another and of one country or another. The vitality and immediate importance of the Leninist approach consists in that it is oriented toward a specific analysis of a specific situation. Only in this case does the general cease to be an abstract rule and appear as a reality which lives and develops in the boundless diversity of social life.

The Leninist approach also corresponds completely with the views of the founders of Marxism. In "economic manuscripts of 1857-1859" Marx writes about the need to apply in the analysis of historical activity the method of "moving from the abstract to the concrete," which is "that method whereby thinking assimilates the concrete and reproduces it as something spiritually concrete."⁵

In Marx's opinion, as we see, abstract aspects which constitute the content of the patterns of the historical process should not be imposed upon reality from above. Concrete reality should not be adjusted to fit within these abstract aspects. If this were the case one could find nothing in them other than the same abstractions. The content of the general patterns should be included in their specific form and traced in the development of actual processes of live history. Any other approach means a construction of artificial dead systems which hamper revolutionary forces in utilizing the possibilities of a concrete situation.

In characterizing the overall patterns of the changeover from capitalism to socialism, the CPSU and its theoretical personnel adhere to a Marxist-Leninist dialectical understanding of the relationship between the general and the specific. Defending this position, M. A. Suslov writes about the

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overall patterns of the socialist revolution and socialist construction: "These patterns are not a code of abstract 'rules,' but the sum of reference points for action that have been established and verified in practice and that require, of course, creative application."⁶ The overall patterns of historical development are not anything dead or frozen; they are always embodied in the diversity of real life, they are also subject to the effects of social development and they change form and become richer.

The question of the patterns of the patterns of a revolutionary process is certainly not a purely academic problem; it is organically linked to political practice. A certain political position always lies beneath one solution to this problem or another. The point of denying the general laws in the process of the changeover from capitalism to socialism, as a rule, consists in a desire to reject Leninism as an ideology and policy for the working class under modern conditions.

Under the influence of changes that have taken place in recent years, certain theoreticians assert that Leninism has become or is becoming outdated. In their words, there is no longer a need to adhere to the ideas of Leninism since now the conditions of the changeover to socialism and the construction of a socialist society are absolutely different from what they were in 1917.

At the basis of such views lies a denial of the fact that Leninism reflects the overall changeover from capitalism to socialism. It is precisely to substantiate this political position that they draw from the history of philosophical thought Neokantian arguments whose groundlessness was proved long ago by Marxists.

Frequently the universal character of Leninism is denied not directly, but in degrees through the juxtaposition of methodological and theoretical aspects of Leninist teaching. For the former universal significance is recognized, but the latter is presented as a national or regional variant of Marxist theory. Those who adhere to this point of view assert that the Leninist method is timely even today, but that his theory has transient significance; it played its role in Russia but is no longer applicable to modernity, especially under the conditions of the developed capitalist countries.

Such a position seems completely groundless. In fact, what is this method? It is a method of analyzing and evaluating historical reality and leading the revolutionary class and its political avant garde to action. The effectiveness of this method is based on the fact that it gives true reference points for understanding revolutionary transformation of reality as well. These reference points are the result of theoretical generalization and interpretation of historical experience. Therefore the revolutionary method is simply unthinkable without revolutionary theory. Both the one concept and the other can serve as a method of analysis of actual events and processes only because they reveal general patterns in social develop-

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ment. If the method departs from the theory that characterizes the objective patterns, then it becomes a hollow object, verbal exercises or sophistry. "The Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing social reality," notes B. N. Ponomarev, "is inextricably related to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, to its premises which reveal the general historical patterns in the development of a society. The question of precisely how these patterns are manifested in concrete historical and national conditions is a subject of creative scientific analysis. This is why the Marxist-Leninist method is also a creative method which requires a constant search for answers to new questions that are advanced by life. Moreover, this method is strictly scientific, relying in an integral, well-structured theory--dialectical and historical materialism, political economics and scientific communism."⁷

In Marxism-Leninism method and theory are a dialectical unity. When one speaks about the theory one relies on the reflection in Marxist-Leninist teachings of overall patterns of historical development; and when one speaks about method, one has in mind, above all, the reverse link between theory and reality, the practice of social development. One aspect does not exist without the other; they are unified. This is why it is wrong to reduce Leninism to a method, denying its theoretical significance for the modern revolutionary process.

Marxist Analysis of the Particular and Creative Development of Theory

While emphasizing the significance of the general for an understanding of social development it is still necessary to point out the need for constant interpretation of the diversity of real actuality, of the particular, which is constantly appearing in the revolutionary process. If one is distracted from the particular, it is generally impossible to imagine how social development takes place. Relating his understanding of the relationship between the general and the particular, K. Marx wrote: ". . . the universal or that which is singled out by comparing the general itself is something which is repeatedly dismembered and expressed in various definitions." And Marx goes on to write, with respect to languages: ". . . it is precisely their distinction from the universal and general that constitutes their development."⁸ As we see, according to Marx, the meaning of development consists in that new distinguishing features and signs, new forms of appearance of the universal arise in existing phenomena and processes. It follows from this that one of the most important tasks of Marxist theory consists in studying the peculiarities of each revolutionary stage just as one studies national peculiarities related to the conditions of one country or another.

Consequently, the Marxist position is not at all to ignore or depreciate the significance of the particular, but always to coordinate this particular with general patterns of development. Only thus is it possible to allow absolutization of the particular, the national specific, and to understand its meaning as a manifestation, a moment, a stage, an aspect of a unified historical process.

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It is quite understandable that the Marxist revolutionary strategy in each country is based on data from an analysis of specific features of the workers', democratic, national liberation movement in that specific country. But V. I. Lenin noted that even so " . . . in each individual country the movement suffers from one degree of oneness or another, one theoretical or practical shortcoming or another, on the part of individual socialist parties."⁹ Therefore an indispensable feature of Marxist theory and policy is the internationalist approach, the striving to generalize the international experience of the workers' movement. Only this way is it possible to avoid a one-sided approach. Revolutionary theory, emphasized V. I. Lenin, "grows out of a totality of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thought of all countries of the world."¹⁰

A concrete analysis of a concrete situation is the only way of developing the strategy and tactics of a revolutionary struggle in any country. But a concrete analysis is always made within a framework, if one can call it that, of a certain system of coordinates which have been constructed on the basis of the worldwide historical practice and reflects the overall patterns of the class struggle and revolution. Modern times clearly demonstrate the unity of the world revolutionary process. With all its diversity, dispersion and complexity, it is still an integral mechanism of revolutionary development. Inherent in it are certain objective laws that characterize the situation, the role, the interrelations of the basic revolutionary forces, the interaction of the international and national in the liberation movement, and the main tendencies of the age of the change-over from capitalism to socialism. Regardless of how specific the situation may be in one country or another, these general patterns are manifested there as well. One is again reminded of this by the experience of the revolutionary movement of the 1970's. In the Chilean, Portuguese and Nicaraguan revolutions and in the national liberation revolutions in Africa and Asia the axis of all events, although they were distinguished by a certain uniqueness, was the question of power and the law of the opposition between the revolution and counterrevolution was in evidence everywhere.

There is not a single country in the world which would not experience the effects of international processes such, for example, the change in the alignment of forces in the world arena, the confrontation of socialism and capitalism, and the struggle for peaceful coexistence and detente. These parameters are integral parts of the international revolutionary policy in any period. And when these parameters are ignored and the emphasis is placed on national peculiarities, this leads to absolutization of national experience and to the creation of limited schemes to which universal significance is frequently artificially ascribed.

There is no doubt that the experience of the revolutionary movement in each country is the most valuable material for the development of general principles of Marxist-Leninist policy and for the creative development of revolutionary theory. The revolutionary process in each country is a kind of laboratory where one searches for answers to new problems advanced by

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social practice. The historical experience of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist parties and other revolutionary and democratic forces of any country enrich the theory and policy of Marxism-Leninism. But one can not fail to see that the experience of each country is a part of a whole, which is the international experience of the international working class. And when the part is juxtaposed to the whole and even taken for the whole, this inevitably leads to a localized, provincial policy which runs counter to the main tendencies of the world revolutionary process. It turns out as if there were no October Socialist Revolution, no essential change in the alignment of forces in the world, and no victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This is why it is important to establish the true significance and the position of the undoubtedly valuable experience of the workers' movement of each country in the overall system of the international experience. This is why in the process of developing an internationalist approach it is so important to compare the experience of various countries and to analyze comparatively the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary forces. L. I. Brezhnev spoke of this at the Berlin conference of communist and workers' parties of Europe, emphasizing the importance of "broad comparison of points of view and experience of various parties."¹¹

The dialectic of the general and the specific in the revolutionary process is of primary importance for the development of a strategy and tactics for communist parties. Their attitude toward the dialectic of the general and the specific and toward the laws of revolution determines their position regarding the question of general principles of strategy and tactics of the communist movement. Sometimes the very possibility of such general principles is denied. It is asserted that in each country the strategy and tactics of the communist party are conditioned by the internal situation.

Nobody doubts that each communist party develops its strategy and tactics quite independently and separately, based on internal conditions. But it certainly does not follow from this that one should deny the general principles of strategy and tactics of the communist movement, in which the historical experience of the revolutionary workers' movement is accumulated in generalized form. These principles include, for example, the principle of revolution--the unshakeable principle of any communist party. Regardless of the conditions under which one party or another operates, regardless of the broad alliances into which it has entered, regardless of the strategic plans it has advanced, its policy, if it is a communist policy, must be revolutionary. "... Joining in the struggle against reactionary circles of imperialism with broad democratic currents, enlisting social democrats and peasants," said L. I. Brezhnev at the Berlin conference of communist and workers' parties of Europe, "communists still remain revolutionaries, confirmed proponents of the replacement of the capitalist system with the socialist system. They devote all of their activity to solving this historical problem."¹²

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Closely related to the question of diversity of strategies and tactics of communist parties is the question of the so-called "new internationalism." Of course, the diverse social and political forces which participate under present conditions in the revolutionary and liberation movement require very flexible interrelations among anti-imperialist forces. The principles of these interrelations have been formulated in documents of the international communist movement, particularly in the summary document of the 1969 conference. But there is no justification for deducing from this diversity of forces any "new internationalism" which stands in opposition to proletarian internationalism. The diversity of forces participating in the revolutionary process and the breadth of alliances of the proletariat with numerous nonproletarian segments of workers make it incumbent on the revolutionary avant garde of the working class, the communist party, to defend a clear-cut class position even more than before. One can not but see that it is precisely proletarian internationalism that manifests the solidarity of the most consistent revolutionary forces--the working class, communists--and that this is the binding nucleus of the broader solidarity of anti-imperialist forces.

The entire course of modern world development shows the importance of the Marxist-Leninist understanding the dialectic of the general and the specific in the broad liberation movement of modern times and the importance of studying the general patterns of the world revolutionary process. The 24th CPSU Congress especially emphasized the significance of general patterns of the changeover from capitalism to socialism for all of the activity of communist parties.

An understanding of the general patterns of our revolutionary age makes it possible to interpret it as a unity, despite its extreme diversity, and opens up the way to solving the complex problem of typology of various forms of the world revolutionary process.

The Typology of Modern Revolutions

The diversity of forms and types of revolutions of modern times and their unusual nature sets the complicated task of their typology for Marxist theoretical thought. It is no accident that there are sharp disputes about questions of the typology of revolution.

One of the main difficulties consists in that under present conditions it is practically impossible to find "classical types" of social revolutions. In real life there is an interweaving, an interdependency of various kinds of revolutionary social transformations. This circumstance is a reflection of the complexity and contradictory nature of the world revolutionary process.

K. Marx's idea cited above concerning the movement from the abstract to the concrete is important for solving the problem of typology of modern revolutions. There are certain general abstract aspects in this area which

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make it possible to create a unified classification of revolutionary processes. But these general abstract aspects lose their vitality and become irrelevant when they are considered without regard to a specific analysis of actual revolutions. Only when applied to concrete processes can these abstract aspects serve as a key to the development of a scientific typology of social and political revolutions.

The general principle of Marxism which lies at the basis of the typology of revolutions is related to the concept of the socio-economic formation. This principle retains all of its force when developing a typology of modern revolutions as well.

Certain bourgeois sociologists are trying to construct a typology of revolutions based on an immanent evaluation of revolutionary processes. They isolate one revolutionary process or another from the entire totality of social processes and then try to determine its nature. This direction of research is a blind alley. It is impossible to determine the nature or type of a revolutionary transformation without relating it to the objective logic of the entire historical process. And this logic, as is proved by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by all historical practice, is the development and the replacement of socio-economic formations. This also determines the main criterion for the classification of revolutions. It requires an answer to the question: which system is established objectively as a result of the victory of a revolution and against which social system is it objectively directed?

Here is it of decisive importance, of course, to analyze the material and production relations, although this does not preclude the importance of analyzing ideological relations.

With all the diversity of the modern world, the main content of the age is still the changeover from capitalism to socialism. A gigantic process of transformation of the very foundation of man's social life is taking place in the world; a change is taking place in the direction of a communist socio-economic formation. And this comprises the content of the entire modern age and leaves the mark of a certain influence on the entire world revolutionary process. Of course, as was already noted, the revolution in each country takes place on the basis of internal conditions and is engendered by internal contradictions. But in our day not a single country can remain aloof from the general direction of mankind's development. Therefore any revolution, regardless of where it takes place and regardless of the unique form it requires, experiences the effects of the gigantic process of the establishment of a new communist civilization.

Even those revolutions which develop in countries where socio-economic conditions are not ripe for the changeover to socialism, because of the basic content of the age, have powerful socialist tendencies. Take, for example, the Ethiopian and Angolan revolutions. Neither with respect to Ethiopia nor with respect to Angola can one speak about a high degree of

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readiness of material-economic and social prerequisites for the changeover to socialism. If one proceeds just from the internal positions of these countries, the revolution there can not proceed beyond the framework of revolutionary transformations that are limited by general democratic parameters. But under the influence of the entire world revolutionary process and, above all, under the influence of real socialism and the dissemination of the ideas of Marxism, the revolution in these countries acquires socialist tendencies, which are not only proclaimed but are actually realized on the path of a socialist orientation.

The main objective criterion of the typology of modern revolution, which is related to the main content of the age, requires, of course, concretization with respect to the conditions of various regions and countries of the world. Socialist tendencies which are stimulated by the general content of the modern age and the movement of human society toward socialism and communism, are interpreted as opposing tendencies engendered by the socio-economic heterogeneity of the modern world. Because of this, in particular, it seems incorrect to classify modern national liberation revolutions as any one type of revolution. The reality of the national liberation movement shows ever more clearly that an essential divergence of revolutions is taking place within it. In essence, today the general name of national liberation movement, which actually has unity from the point of view of the genesis of the struggle of oppressed people against colonialism and imperialism, embraces various types of social transformations. And the further it proceeds, the more clearly these differences are manifested. Certain national liberation revolutions acquire a clearly socialist orientation while others are drawn in the direction of this orientation; others enter on the path of social transformations that prepare the soil for capitalist development and still others have entered firmly on the path of capitalism.

The typology of national liberation revolutions is also complicated by the circumstance that in the majority of the cases they are incomplete. Various possibilities and prospects for development open up before them. A clear example is the revolution in Iran. The unity of social and political forces in the struggle against the Shah's regime and against the domination of American imperialism in the first stage of the revolution was replaced by a division of these forces, a struggle among them for various variants of further development of the anti-imperialist liberation movement. Whether or not the Iranian revolution continues along this path depends on the outcome of the struggle of the various social forces participating in it.

The diversity of the conditions and the peculiarities of various countries is also reflected in the typology of modern revolutions because, in addition to the main criterion for classification--the type of socio-economic transformation--other important criteria must be taken into account. In particular, the composition and positions of the motive forces of revolutions affect their typology to a large degree.

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As we know, the major motive force of socialist transformations is the working class. V. I. Lenin emphasized that the main thing in Marxism is a clarification of the worldwide historical role of the working class as the grave digger of capitalism and the creator of a new, socialist society. But this revolutionary role of the working class is certainly not realized automatically, independent of concrete conditions of time and place. The diversity of the modern world also exerts an influence here. The working class does not occupy a leading position in the revolutionary process everywhere. There are countries where there practically is no working class or it is just getting on its feet and being organized and still being transformed from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself" and acquiring political awareness. There are also countries where the working class comprises the majority of the population but the level of its political awareness, which characterizes the maturity of the subjective factor of the revolution, has not reached a point which would make it possible for it to be a motive force in a socialist revolution. This pertains, in particular, to those capitalist countries where the overwhelming majority of the working class still hold reformist positions. It is understandable that in these countries the revolutionary process can not immediately acquire a clearly expressed socialist nature either, despite the existence of objective prerequisites for socialism.

Along with the working class there are also other forces which play a positive role in the socialist transformation of society today. The working class has allies. Here the overall tendency inherent in the modern age consists in that the composition of these forces that are capable of participating in a socialist revolution and making a positive contribution to it is continuously expanding. Those classes and social segments which at the beginning of modern age were incapable of participating in a revolutionary struggle and displayed indecision, under present conditions under the influence of the practice of real socialism and under the influence of the ideas of scientific socialism, are now coming out as active proponents of socialism, as reliable allies of the working class. And this pertains not only to proletarian segments of rural areas, but also to many urban middle segments and layers of the population, to significant categories of white collar workers, the progressive intelligentsia, and so forth. New social forces that have become able to participate in the struggle for socialist transformations are introducing their ideas and their approach to this struggle and also their own prejudices. This affects the revolutionary process, which means that it also affects the typology of revolutions.

The composition and positions of socio-political forces of the revolutionary movement are also strongly reflected in the nature of the revolutions in developing countries. In a number of these countries the responsibility for following a course with a socialist orientation is taken on by revolutionary democrats who represent the interests of the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie, progressive segments of the intelligentsia, the military and also the rising working class. This leads to a situation where the revolutionary process acquires unusual forms and does not take shape within the standard

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frameworks of classical typology. Socialist tendencies are frequently interwoven with general democratic ones in various proportions in it. And in certain national liberation revolutions even openly capitalist tendencies sometimes take the upper hand. Here the socio-economic content of the revolution does not remain stable, but changes depending on the reversal of the struggle among various kinds of tendencies.

A certain independence of political relations and of the struggle in the revolutionary process are also reflected in the nature and the type of the revolution. This has already been observed in the development of bourgeois revolutions. For example, the French bourgeois revolution solved its own basic problems for practically a half a century, beginning with 1789 and continuing right up to the revolution of 1848. During this time several political revolutions took place on the soil of one bourgeois social revolution. Similar processes are observed in the modern world. In the process of solving objective socio-economic problems, many modern revolutions pass through certain political stages that involve profound changes in the alignment of mass social and class forces as well as political changes and revolutions. These political processes can raise a social revolution to a qualitatively higher level, but they can also suffocate or doom a revolution to marking time or even losing ground.

The influence of political changes on the nature of the revolutionary process was manifested in the development of the Portuguese revolution which passed through a number of political stages. In some of them the struggle for democratic transformations acquired such a scope that there was a real possibility of solving socialist problems and certain steps were even made in this direction. This transient nature of the revolutionary process impeded the determination of the type of revolution that was taking place. It had already gone beyond the framework of an antifacist democratic revolution, but it had still not acquired a clearly expressed socialist nature. Its position on the typological ladder could not be clearly determined before the outcome of the struggle of social and political forces. This struggle remained unresolved. The revolution entered the stage of defending what it had achieved, regrouping and accumulating force for a new upsurge.

The relative independence of the political struggle in the revolutionary process also creates possibilities of carrying out a "revolution from above." This pertains, above all, to countries where the archaic nature of the social structures impede the active participation of the masses in politics. Under these conditions the ruling elite who are thinking realistically sometimes take on the responsibility for carrying out certain objectively necessary tasks in the development of the society with minimum participation of mass forces. Here the "revolution from above," as a rule, take on an elitist nature, becoming essentially the manifestation of a compromise between the ruling classes and the other social strata. Such "elitist revolutions" are carried out at the expense of the interests of the masses of people. Moreover, their weakness, as the experience of the Iranian "white revolution" shows consists in that the country's essential

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problems remain unsolved. This is why the "white revolution" met with insurmountable contradictions and the Shah's regime was overturned by a popular revolution.

The modern world revolutionary process demonstrates the exceptionally varied nature of the main classical types of revolutions. There is an entire problem of classifying their varieties, many of which are transitional variants from one type of revolution to another.

In general it should be noted that the transitional types and forms of revolutionary transformations, whose possibility was predicted by K. Marx and which received theoretical substantiation in the works of V. I. Lenin, have become a widespread phenomenon in the revolutionary processes of modern times. What caused this? The fact that the diversity of conditions under which the liberation movements and revolutions develop and the varying degrees of readiness of objective and subjective prerequisites for socialism, which vary from almost complete absence to a condition of "over-readiness" met with the powerful, insurmountable socialist tendencies that determine the main content of the modern age, an age of changeover from capitalism to socialism. In places where conditions are not ready for the realization of these tendencies there appear transitional types and forms of social transformations which take shape under the influence of the diversity of national and historical conditions.

Today the question of transitional types of revolutionary transformations is also becoming crucial in countries of developed state-monopolistic capitalism. The fact is that in the system of contradictions of modern capitalism, the "upper layer" of contradictions is coming to the forefront: between the monopolies and the people. Their immediate resolution has become a critical need which is recognized by increasingly larger masses of people. But it still will not mean a changeover to socialism. This will be a changeover to the establishment of an antimonopolistic democracy, to the power of a union of leftist democratic forces with the hegemony of the working class. What are these transformations from the point of view of the typology of a revolution? They can not be considered to be socialist revolutions but they do not take form within the framework of capitalism since they undermine its present foundation--the dominance of monopolistic capital. This kind of revolutionary transformations, like the very power of a union of democratic forces, is included in the transitional type of transformations whose final result is certainly not predetermined and allows alternatives. These deep democratic changes can evolve into a socialist revolution. But they can also be halted, stopped half way along the way, if the working class does not have enough power to bring the matter to an end. A subsequent restoration of a modernized variant of state-monopolistic capitalism is also possible.

Regardless of where they are, the extensive spreading of transitional types of revolutionary transformations creates immense difficulties for a typology of modern revolutions. And yet, for the same reason, there is a grow-

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ing need to solve this problem not only from the theoretical, but also from the practical-political standpoint. A scientific typology of modern revolutions is extremely necessary for a correct orientation in all the diversity of revolutionary processes that are taking place in various regions and countries and for the development of a strategy and tactics for the revolutionary struggle that adequate to the conditions and objective tasks.

It is necessary to point out one more difficulty in the typology of revolutions. There are inevitably numerous variations in the process of one and the same type of social revolution. Some of these are explained by the peculiarities of the socio-economic and political structures in various countries. And others depend on the peculiarities of one stage or another in the development of the modern age. After all, revolutions are enriched by preceding experience and they change under its influence.

Thus within the framework of the socialist type of revolutions one can single out criteria for their internal typology. In terms of these criteria the Great October Socialist Revolution is distinguished from socialist revolutions of Central Eastern Europe after the Second World War. The unique nature of these revolutions makes it possible to speak of a special variety of socialist revolution. The specific nature of the conditions of the countries of developed state-monopolistic capitalism enables us to allow the possibility of the appearance of a new variety of socialist revolution there (with its own typical features), which is still within the framework of the general patterns of the changeover from capitalism to socialism.

In addition to the varieties of modern revolutions they also have differences in form. Moreover, the boundaries between varieties of revolutions and their differences in form are not stable. The neatness of the form of a revolution can reach a degree where there arises a new variant of one type of revolution or another.

Relying on the dialectic of the general and the specific, Marxist typology of social and political revolutions which has fairly clear cut objective criteria and adequate flexibility, should take into account the entire diversity of revolutionary processes in the modern world while still not forcing them into a Procrustean bed of artificial schemes. The Marxist typology of revolutions reveals the unity of the modern world revolutionary process which clear the way to a new communist civilization.

Several Epistemological Problems

There is an entire group of complicated epistemological problems related to the dialectic of the general and specific in the revolutionary process.

The first of them can be designated as the problem of "recognizing" the law in the infinite diversity of rapidly changing events of modern revolutionary development.

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The fact is that any general law of changeover to socialism appears in a special concrete form each time. And theoretical thought can not always immediately recognize it in its new manifestation.

It is known, for example, that the national democratic revolutions in a number of European countries after the Second World War were distinguished by great uniqueness. Marxists did not immediately see behind this uniqueness certain general features of socialist revolution, particularly the need for a dictatorship of the proletariat, which originated there in a different way than in Russia and took on different concrete historical forms. In 1946-1947 K. Gottvald, G. Dimitrov, M. Terez and other imminent activists of the communist movement discussed this repeatedly. Only after a certain amount of time, in 1948, did the experience accumulated by national democratic revolutions make it possible to conclude that this was not the disappearance of a general feature, a general law of the changeover from capitalism to socialism, but a new variety of this changeover--a people's democracy as a special form of political power of the working class.

When evaluating the present situation in countries of developed capitalism one can not but conclude that both the path of the working class to power and this power itself there will inevitably have its own peculiarities. Of course, under the conditions of highly developed state-monopolistic capitalism, with the present alignment of forces in the world and with the orientation of a worldwide changeover to socialism, both the form of the future power of the working class and the method of its establishment must be different from those that existed in Soviet Russia and in the countries with popular democracy. Marxist theoretical thought is faced with an important problem of in-depth and comprehensive study of the uniqueness of the realization of the essential idea of Marxism under specific conditions of modern capitalism, the study of the uniqueness of the establishment there of the political dominance of the leading class of the age and the uniqueness of the political forms of this dominance. In other words, it is a problem of foreseeing new, previously unknown forms of manifestation of the general law of socialist revolution.

Another epistemological problem related to the dialectic of the general and the specific consists in precisely relating theoretical conclusions concerning the uniqueness of the manifestation of one law of revolution or another with the stages of historical development. The fact is that the laws of revolution in various stages of transition from capitalism to socialism can be manifested in different ways. That which is true for the most immediate stages is not always correct for the entire process as a whole. This can be demonstrated by the example of the so-called political pluralism which includes an alternation of the parties in power. This idea reflects the practical reality of present bourgeois democracy in many countries of developed state-monopolistic capitalism. It is quite possible to suppose that this so-called political pluralism is applicable to stages which can be defined as stages of extremely remote approaches to a socialist

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revolution, when the working class is forced to emerge from the existing state of affairs and, in its class struggle under the conditions of the capitalist system, to apply norms of bourgeois democracy, including the rule of alternation of various parties in power. But it would be a mistake to project the features of the most immediate stage onto the entire course of the changeover from capitalism to socialism which, as we know, presupposes a socialist revolution, that is, a disruption in the continuity.

The principle of alternation of political parties in power is typical of bourgeois democracy. Proceeding from the political situation in a number of western European countries, one can presume that this principle will also be in effect in a system of power of a transitional type, in the first stage of approaches and changeover to socialism and in the initial stage of the process of political and ideological consolidation of the society.

But with a changeover to socialism and with the victory of socialist production relations and the establishment of a socialist political structure, the principle of alternation of parties in power loses all of its meaning. The political system is consolidated as the system of power of the working class. With a multiparty system this power is realized not through competition, but through cooperation of friendly parties that are united around the political avant garde of the working class--the Marxist-Leninist party. A socialist society is the outcome of a class struggle, as a result of which exploiting classes are eliminated and, consequently, the very question of "alternation of power" is removed from the agenda and principles and norms of political life that are inherent in socialism begin to be in effect.

Another problem of social cognition is related to the fact that in the diversity of social life there are always exceptions to any historical laws. ". . . are there historical laws," wrote Lenin, "pertaining to revolutions that do not have exceptions? The answer would be: no, there are no such laws. Such laws refer only to the typical."¹³ Consequently, regardless of which law of revolution we take, in the complex interweaving of events of social life it is always possible to find cases and phenomena which are not included in the scheme of the law and, moreover, contradict it. It is precisely these cases and phenomena that revisionist elements of the workers' and communist movement use to cast doubt on the law.

They take, for example, cases that characterize the existence of socialist tendencies in those countries where objective conditions and the subjective factor are not yet ready and therefore the bearers of socialist tendencies are frequently nonproletarian political parties and organizations. These cases are removed from the general historical context and, on the basis of them, the general conclusion is drawn that Marxism, with its orientation toward the working class, has become outdated, that it is too narrow, that present reality is more correctly reflected by other socialist theories. But the problem is also stated differently and requires a concrete analysis of the connection between the cases that are adduced and the general course

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of historical development. If this is done, one immediately sees that the very appearance of new forces participating in the struggle for socialism is the result of the development of the revolutionary process precisely in keeping with the laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism. These new forces reveal a capability of participating in socialist transformations precisely because there exists a practice of real socialism, a practice that is victorious and exercised under the leadership of the working class of socialist revolutions, a practice that is embodied in the reality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All this exerts an immense influence on the awareness and political behavior of social forces that are close to the working class and creates possibilities for expansion of the frameworks of their historical action and for the appearance of socialist tendencies in places, from the standpoint of the internal logic of their development, it would seem that they could not exist.

V. I. Lenin gave another example of a possible exception to the laws of socialist revolution. He allowed that under conditions where the socialist revolution has been victorious in the majority of countries of the world, the bourgeoisie in the remaining capitalist countries that are surrounded by socialism, recognizing the futility of resistance, voluntarily relinquish the power to the working class for a certain compensation. It is clear that this kind of exception only confirms the general laws of the class struggle and revolution.

Events and cases pertaining the laws of the revolutionary process should not be considered in isolation, but in the entire system of the changeover from capitalism to socialism on a nationwide and even an international scale.

Finally, in connection with the epistemological problems that have been considered, one should point out the importance of initial philosophical positions when analyzing the patterns of the revolutionary process. The very problem of the dialectic of the general and the specific is philosophical and, consequently, in order to solve it correctly it is absolutely necessary to have clear initial philosophical positions. It is important to express this idea because recently in some places there has been a tendency to distort the idea of the neutrality of philosophy with respect to politics. Today even more so than in the past, philosophy can not be neutral with respect to politics for it comprises the base of the world view with which the methodology of politics and the adoption of political decisions are regarded. And, finally, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, dialectical and historical materialism, is absolutely necessary for the development of problems of the political history of Marxism-Leninism and for the development of problems of the theory of socialist revolution and the modern world revolutionary process.

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FOOTNOTES

1. G. Rickert, "Granitsy estestvennonauchnogo obrazovaniya ponyatiy" [The Limits of Natural Scientific Formation of Concepts], SPB, 1903, p. 220.
2. Ibid., p 508.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Collected Works], Vol 29, p. 90.
4. Op. cit., Vol 3, p 14.
5. Ibid., p 38.
6. M. A. Suslov, "Marksizm-leninizm i sovremennaya epokha" [Marxism-Leninism and the Modern Age], Moscow, 1979, p 26.
7. B. N. Ponomarev, "Zhivoye i deystvennoye ucheniye marksizma-leninizma" [The Vital and Effective Teachings of Marxism-Leninism], Moscow, 1978, pp 87-88.
8. K. Marx and F. Engels, Sochineniya [Works], Vol 12, p 711.
9. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 17, p 182.
10. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 27, p 11.
11. "For peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe," Results of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976, Moscow, 1976, p 19.
12. Ibid., p 17.
13. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 37, pp 246-247.

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DEVELOPMENT OF UZBEK-RSFSR ECONOMIC TIES

Tashkent OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 6, 1979 signed to press 16 Jul 79 pp 39-42

[Article by M. Islamdzhanova and T. Fayzullayev: "Developing the Economic Ties of the Working Class of Uzbekistan and the RSFSR": "Development of Economic Ties"]

[Text] It is emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee's decree on the 50th anniversary of the first Soviet five-year plan that "the history of Soviet five-year plans is the history of the creation of powerful production forces in all USSR republics, the creation of the working class and qualified personnel in all branches of the economy, in all links of state control, in science, and in culture. The present USSR economy is an enormous united national economic complex, and each republic economy is an inseparable part of this union-wide complex."

During the construction of communism, the Leninist friendship of the peoples of the USSR is steadily becoming stronger, and their fraternal cooperation in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of a developed socialist society is becoming ever closer and more multifaceted.

Directed by the CPSU, our multinational working class--the leading force of society -- is playing a decisive role in the development of these objectively natural processes. This is clearly visible, for example, in the widespread development of the economic ties and creative cooperation of the working class of Uzbekistan and the other union-republics, especially the RSFSR, during the present stage of mature socialism.

In our republic, there is not a single branch, a single enterprise which did not participate in the deepening and extension of Uzbekistan's fruitful economic ties with the RSFSR within the united union-wide national economic complex.

Thus, the central industrial region, especially the capital of our state--Moscow, satisfied a significant share of the republic's requirements for machine tools, technical equipment for automobiles, and rolled non-ferrous

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metals. Such famous factories as the one imeni Likhachev, the one imeni Il'ich, the "Dinamo" and the "Krasnyy proletariy", regularly send their products to our republic.

The workers of Yaroslavl' are sending tires and engines for the "Tashkent" tractor to Uzbekistan; the workers of Kuybyshev--bearings; of Ul'yanovsk--electrical equipment; of Volgograd--tractors, rolled steel, and pipes, of the Urals--ferrous and non-ferrous metals; of Novosibirsk--~~electrical~~ engineering equipment, etc.

The Namanganskiy Silk Cloth Combine imeni 50th Anniversary of the Uzbek SSR, whose construction was provided for by 23d CPSU Congress directives, was built according to plans worked up in the central design institutes with the help of specialists from the Russian Federation, and it was supplied with equipment which came from RSFSR machine building factories. Famous Russian textile workers from Podmoskov'ye, Ivanov, Bryansk, Kalinin, and other cities provided enormous help in starting up the combine and in developing its production capacities. From the first day the combine started up, progressive weavers, who came from the Russian Federation, headed the professional training of the Uzbek women. Many progressive production workers and talented organizers of industry grew from them. The names of Raysa Kochetkova, Alevtina Tikhomolova, and Yelena Zakharova who were selected peoples' deputies to the city soviet, who had performed two five-year plans in one, and who had trained hundreds of spinners among the local workers, have been eternally entered in the annals of Namagan.

The Namanganskiy Silk Combine has become the forge for cadres and for disseminating progressive experience for the developing light industry of not only Uzbekistan but of all the Central Asia economic region. In continuing the glorious traditions of the Russian working class, the combine's collective has provided every possible help in putting into operation the largest enterprise of the branch in the republic--the Bukharskiy Textile Combine.

The Ferganskiy Oil Refining Plant began operating thanks to the enormous help of the work collectives of the Russian Federation's industrial regions. Here, engineers, technical workers, and workers from Omsk, Volgograd, Kuybyshev, and Ufa were the first to come to help the inhabitants of Fergana. Among them were V. V. Verba, chief engineer of the plant; V. A. Khrulev, chief power specialist; N. V. Shurbin, chief mechanic; A. P. Golovan', workshop chief; etc. -- They are still working here. They became genuine organizers of production and trainers of highly qualified local nationality workers.

The creative thinking of the Russian specialists helped to improve technological processes, modernize equipment, find a more effective arrangement method, and adjust the production of new types of production.²

Inter-republic socialist competition is an important form of work cooperation between workers. For a long time it has been a universally recognized

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method of communist construction which contributes to instilling a communist attitude toward work, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in Soviet people.

For several years now the collectives of the industrial enterprises of Tashkent, Fergana, Namangan, and Andizhan have competed with enterprises in the cities of the Russian Federation. Thus, the Fergana oil refiners compete with the people of Volgograd, Novokuybyshev and Omsk; the chemical workers of Namangan--with the collectives of the Serpukhovskiy Artificial Fiber Plant; the Tashkent and Namagan textile workers--with the Ivanovsk textile workers, etc.

Socialist competition has been widely expanded between collectives of enterprises in one branch. As an example, one can mention the competition between the workers of the Leningrad Spinning Combine, "Krasnaya Nit'" and the Tashkent Textile Combine. The friendship between the two collectives was born during the years of the Great Patriotic War when a batch of equipment was sent and a group of textile specialists departed from besieged Leningrad to Tashkent.

After the victory, the rebuilding of the enterprise began and Tashkent was one of the first to come to help it. Twelve automatic winding machines and many other machines were sent to "Krasnaya Nit'" from Uzbekistan. Later, the people of Leningrad helped their Uzbek colleagues by taking part in the reconstruction of a number of workshops in the Tashkent Textile Combine and in the introduction of ultrasonic equipment to clean the parts of spinning machines. This lessened the breaking of thread and considerably raised labor productivity. This mutual help developed into the competition between the collectives of factories, related production enterprises, and individual brigades.³

The Tashkent Textile Combine competes with the Ivanovskiy Mixed Fiber Combine; and the Ferganskiy Textile Combine--with the collective of the Ivanovskiy Spinning Factory imeni Balasheva. Technical documentation is exchanged; and at the end of each quarter--information about work results. Twice a year, delegates from the competing enterprises meet to sum up competition results and familiarize themselves with the work experience of the best sections and collectives.

Many new forms of socialist competition appeared during the preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the USSR's jubilee. Thus, socialist competition was spread between the collectives of cooperating enterprises in the fraternal republics. Mutual help and mutual concern for the over-all success of the job are characteristic features of this competition. The weavers of the Glukhovskiy Cotton Combine imeni V. I. Lenin were the initiators of this movement which was called "A Pact of Thousands." They put forward the slogan: "We are celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the USSR by overfulfilling the targets of the five-year plan for producing good quality cloth. Let the textile workers, machine builders and chemists

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of Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia and the cotton growers of Uzbekistan compete for this."

A new form of competition, which has important significance in further strengthening friendship between the peoples of the USSR and in the international indoctrination of the Soviet people was also spread widely in Uzbekistan. The textile workers of Tashkent signed a five-year agreement on work competition with the textile workers of the city of Ivanovo.

In the spring of 1976, a delegation from the Ferganskiy Textile Combine imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy which had signed an "Agreement on Cooperation" visited the Shakhtinskiy Cotton Combine. One of its members, Rozikhon Yusupzhanova challenged Valentina Monasheva to compete. In continuing the glorious work traditions of the textile shock workers and Stakhanovites of the first five-year plans, in supporting the initiative of A. V. Smirnova, Z. L. Konovalova, and V. A. Loktova, participants in the All-Union Meeting of Progressive Workers in Light Industry, "Two Five-Year Plans in One," Valentina and Rozikhon assumed obligations to cross over to super-standard maintenance. On 4 February 1977, V. Monasheva reported on the fulfillment of two annual targets; R. Yusupzhanova also exceeded the daily norm by almost a factor of two.⁴ High professional skill and creative cooperation permitted the two weavers to cope successfully with the obligations.

Sh. Mirzababayeva, a coiling machine operator at the Ferganskiy Textile Combine entered into competition with T. Kornilova, a well known weaver in the "Krasnaya vetka" Factory in the city of Kineshma where a meeting of shock workers of communist labor and progressive watch personnel was held in honor of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR's formation. Ancient friendly ties exist between these enterprises. Kineshma helped to build the Ferganskiy Textile Factory and trained personnel for it. Fergana invariably sent and is sending cotton fibers to Kineshma.

In continuation of the traditions of "The Pact of Thousands", Yelena Amosova, Anastasiya Yerofeyeva and Bual'ma Dzhurayeva, three Heroes of Socialist Labor and three of the country's distinguished spinners, concluded an agreement between themselves in January 1974 for a competition which obliged them to overfulfill the 1974 targets by a factor of two.

Anastasiya Fedorovna Yerofeyeva from the Ivanovskiy Mixed Fiber Combine imeni K. I. Frolov and Rokhatoy Yusupova from the Namanganskiy Silk Cloth Combine imeni the 50th Anniversary of the Uzbek SSR, distinguished spinners of the country, became acquainted and made friends in the Kremlin during the workdays of the 25th CPSU Congress. They adopted high obligations for themselves-- to perform two five-year plans during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Numerous followers appeared after them. In Namangan alone, about 300 progressive workers are working in accordance with the initiative of A. F. Yerofeyeva and R. Yusupova.

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Such a form of work cooperation between the workers of the fraternal republics as the regular exchange of progressive production experience is also being developed. Trips of workers--progressive production personnel, union-wide meetings, seminars, etc. are playing an important role in this.

In July 1975, a group of female textile workers in Ivanovskaya Oblast sent a letter to all women workers calling for them to "take a very direct part in implementing the majestic plans of the party, to make 1975 a year of excellent quality and high production efficiency." The weavers of the Namanganskiy Silk Cloth Combine imeni the 50th Anniversary of the Uzbek SSR were the first ones in Uzbekistan to study this letter. During the competition, the combine's collective achieved large work successes and was awarded the Red Banner of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, the Uzbek Council of Ministers, the Uzbek Trade Union Council, and the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee for the year's results.

The mutual help of fraternal republic enterprises in training qualified personnel, especially for factories and plants being newly commissioned, has acquired broad scope. For the Namanganskiy Silk Cloth Combine alone, more than 110 qualified Uzbek workers were trained in the city of Ivanovo, about 100 in the Moscow Factory imeni Sverdlov, and more than 100 people in the cotton combine in the city of Kalinin.⁵

The youth, sent from Uzbekistan to the textile enterprises of central Russia, receive there not only excellent professional training but also instill in themselves the remarkable features and traditions of the Russian working class. Thus, Minavar Askarova travelled from the textile combine of Fergana to study weaving in Ivanovo. The Russian friends transmitted to her all the "secrets" of their skill. When she returned to her native collective, she herself taught her profession to more than 100 girls. Now, the name of Minavar Askarova is known far beyond the limits of the republic. She has been a deputy to the city council for more than 25 years, she has been elected a member of the party gorkom many times and she was a delegate to the 24th CPSU Congress and the 18th Uzbekistan Communist Party Congress. The government has highly rated her valiant work, having awarded M. Askarova the Order of Lenin and the Labor Red Banner.⁶

Uzbek workers mention with pride the names of their tutors--the representatives of the Russian working class who, sparing no effort or time, transmitted and are transmitting to them their rich experience, knowledge and high professional skill.

Dilyara Tashpulatova, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a spinner at the Namanganskiy Silk Cloth Combine imeni 50th Anniversary of the Uzbek SSR, has written: "After the eighth grade, I went to the "Pyatiletka" Factory and became a pupil of spinner Mariya Alekseyevna Gneda. Now, when my work is being commended, I think how much my first teacher who is still interested in my work and is my considerate advisor, gave me." ⁷

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The work cooperation and mutual help of the workers of Uzbekistan and the RSFSR are expanding with each year and are being enriched with new forms. Thus, Uzbek land reclamation specialists and construction personnel have taken under their patronage the Ivanovskaya and Novgorodskaya oblasts. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, they must prepare and hand over to the farms of Novgorodskaya Oblast 42,000 hectares of drained land, create irrigation systems for an area of 6,000 hectares, perform cultural and technical work (clearing fields of scrub trees, bushes and boulders) on 25,000 hectares of land which does not require drainage,⁸ create four new sovkhoz⁹ including the largest vegetable and dairy sovkhoz in Novgorodskaya Oblast--the "Tashkentskiy", three livestock breeding complexes,¹⁰ and other projects.

The progressive collectives of Uzbekistan's irrigation specialists and land reclamation experts, by striving to make their contribution to the development of the RSFSR's non-Chernozem zone, have spread the competition to carry out the measures, which have been outlined by the party and government, ahead of schedule.

Very many examples like this of the fraternal cooperation of the Uzbekistan and RSFSR working classes can be cited. Their number is being increased with each new Soviet five-year plan, graphically illustrating the correctness of L. I. Brezhnev's well known view about the fact that our five-year plans are the Leninist friendship of peoples translated into the language of economics.

FOOTNOTES

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3. V. A. Yezhov, "Rabochiy Klass SSSR" [The USSR Working Class], Leningrad, 1974, p 93.
4. TEKSTIL' SHCHIK, the factory newspaper of the Ferganskiy Textile Combine, 4 March 1977.
5. Current Archives of the Namanganskiy Silk Cloth Combine, d.l.
6. FERGANSKAYA PRAVDA, 18 October 1977.
7. PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 23 October 1974.
8. TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, 9 June 1977.
9. TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, 25 September 1977.
10. PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 9 January 1977

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KIRGIZ USE VISUAL AIDS IN TEACHING RUSSIAN

Frunze RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V KIRGIZSKOY SHKOLYE in Russian No. 5,
May 79 pp 29-32

[Article by M. K. Mydykova, teacher in the Secondary School imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskogo of the Ak-Suyskiy Rayon: "From the Experience of Working with Visual Aids in a Class with the Intensified Study of Russian"]

[Text] Vera Ivanovna Butrimova is an Honored Teacher of the Republic, a thoughtful and industrious educator. For many years she has been directing one of the most progressive methodological sections of the Kirgiz school.

The material published in this issue was prepared with the participation of the Senior Scientific Associate of the Russian Language Sector of the Kirgiz Scientific Research Institute for Pedagogy (KirgizNIIP) M. I. Zadorozhnyi. The article lay at the basis of a paper presented by V. I. Butrimova at the Republic Conference on Questions of the Introduction of Effective Teaching Methods in the Practice of Schools (11-10 May of this year).

Classes of intensified Russian language study were introduced in our republic in the 1973-1974 academic year in accordance with the decree of the Central Committee of the Kirgiz Communist Party "On the State and Measures for Improving the Teaching of the Russian Language in the General Education Schools of the Republic Using Kirgiz as the Language of Instruction" (April 1973).¹ After a year such a class was also introduced in our boarding school.

The tasks confronting these classes were determined in the following way:

- a) to present Kirgiz-speaking students with the possibility of studying the Russian language more intensively both practically and theoretically;

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- b) to increase significantly their general education schooling by means of expanding their acquaintance with Russian artistic culture;
- c) to inculcate in them habits of independent work for the further mastering of Russian language and literature, training senior students who want to specialize in this field and in the perfection of both the spoken and the written Russian speech, for enrollment in the philological faculties of the institutions of higher education of our republic --in the specialization groups "teacher of Russian language and literature in the Kirgiz school".²

In order to solve these tasks, the program provided for the introduction, side by side with the basic course, of four special courses:

- a) the development of spoken and written speech;
- b) elocution and narration;
- c) elective on the Russian language;
- d) elective "Through the Pages of Soviet Literature".

Even the first acquaintance with the program on the academic disciplines of a special course for the 8th through the 10th classes showed that its realization opens up before us, pedagogues and specialists in Russian philology, broad possibilities for a more thorough than usual association of the Kirgiz students with the language of the great Lenin, the language of peace and friendship. Already the increase itself in the weekly hours set aside for the study of Russian language and literature had to promote this. The main virtue of the program, in my view, lay in the fact that it oriented itself on the mastery of lively, expressive Russian speech.

But a program with a program, and this business was nevertheless new, and it was necessary to begin it so as to call forth at once the most lively interest among the children in the intensive study of the Russian language.

With this goal in mind I decided, first of all, to prepare complexes of diverse illustrated-interpretive and musical materials, which in conjunction with the word, above all, had to secure the task set. The work was conducted in close cooperation with the senior teacher of the department of pedagogy of the Republic Institute for the Advanced Training of Teachers N. G. Kamenetska.

As I then became convinced, the use of complexes of artistic-interpretive means of visual and musical accompaniment proved to be especially effective in the study of the life and creative work of the writer.

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Let us take, for example, the 8th class (the intensified study of the subject begins precisely with this class). One of the main themes in the course of literature in this class is, no doubt, the life and creative work of A. S. Pushkin. And its really profound mastery is simply not possible without the enlistment of the most diverse audio-visual aid material.

In the study of the biography of the writer I made use of reproductions from the paintings of artists, selectively--sequences from slide films, recordings. Thus, in order for the children to be able to imagine ancient Moscow, I made use of reproductions of the pictures "Moscow" by the artist M. N. Vorob'ev and "View of Moscow" by the artist L. A. Engel'mana, demonstrated through an episcopeslide projector.

The reproduction of I. E. Repin's painting "Pushkin at the Lyceum Examination" and the radio composition "Pushkin at the Examination" helped my charges to better understand what an important role Pushkin's meeting with G. R. Derzhavin played in his formation as a poet. This combination of arts helped the children not only to imagine the remote epoch in which the writer lived and worked, but also feel the nerve-racking atmosphere of a lyceum examination.

Here are some fragments of a lesson making use of the materials mentioned.

On the board is a large colored reproduction of the painting "Pushkin at the Lyceum Examination." Simultaneously I switch on the tape recording of the radio composition. Then we begin to talk about the painting. The discussion is greatly facilitated by the fact that immediately before this lesson purposeful vocabulary work was done in the Russian language lessons which consisted in the activation of words needed for conducting the discussion. This is how it was approximately conducted.

On a composition screen there appear the words: festive; depict, reproduce; famous, distinguished, and others. The pupils select synonyms and interpretations for them (glad, triumphant; outline, show; well-known, popular; belonging to an old family, high-born, distinguished), invent sentences: The artist depicted the winter landscape. Distinguished people from the village came to the school festival.

Other words, earlier known, but possibly forgotten by the children, are made meaningful with the aid of synonyms, interpretations and sentences according to the course of the discussion. For example:

--What do you call a person with great abilities for something?

--Talented, gifted, exceptional.

Using a typical construction, we compose the sentence: A. S. Pushkin is a talented poet.

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Such words, for example, as energetic, surprise, and others, which do not go into the minimum vocabulary and therefore cause certain difficulties in their mastery, are also made intelligible directly in the literature lesson, but not with the aid of synonyms, but rather by means of translation into the native language or, where this is possible, with the aid of the showing of pictures.

After such preliminary vocabulary work, the children freely answered questions about the picture. The work on the picture usually is ended by the writing of a composition (in the lessons on the development of spoken and written speech) in accordance with a plan drawn up by the children with my help in class.

The story of the Southern exile of the poet I accompany with the showing of the reproduction of the painting of the artists I. E. Repin and I. K. Aivazovskiy "Farewell, Free Element!" and the reading of an excerpt from the poem "Odessa" by E. Bagritskiy.

The burden of the solitude, the depression of the poet in exile in the remote Mikhaylovskoe and the gladness which Pushkin experienced upon the arrival of Pushchin are well rendered by a reproduction of the painting "Pushkin and Pushchin in Mikhaylovskoe" by the artist N. N. Gye.

In pausing on the last years of the life of A. S. Pushkin, by way of strengthening the material, I make use of the slide film "The Last Years of the Life of Pushkin" (individual sequences without captions). And in order for the pupils to feel the bitterness of the loss, the anger of the people in the name of which the successor of Pushkin M. Yu. Lermontov speaks, we listen to a tape recording of the literary-musical composition "The Meeting That Did Not Take Place".

The composition made a very strong impression on the children. They relived, as it were, the painful feeling which seized M. Yu. Lermontov, when--instead of meeting Pushkin--he heard the words: "They killed him! They killed him!" They literally saw with their own eyeshow the poet ran home across the bridge, over which not long ago the sleigh passed with the mortally wounded Pushkin. In completion of the subject in the lessons of elocution the verses of Eduard Bagritskiy "I Avenged Pushkin in the Environs of Perekop" and Vera Inber's "Pushkin Is Alive" were heard.

With special interest and attention the children read and listened to the poems of Kirgiz poets about Pushkin: Alykul Osmonov's "To Pushkin", Dzhoomart Bokonbaeyev's "My Friend", Kubanychbek Malykov's "Time Is Powerless Against Your Lyre".

And this is understandable. The hearts of the children cannot but be touched by such lines about the poet, for example, as those belonging to the pen of Dzh. Bokonbayev:

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In a paternal way, your Russian muse
Has brought us all together, Pushkin.
And in the sounds of the Komuz
Is heard your prophetic voice, Pushkin!

It goes without saying that the conduct of such emotion and interest-filled lessons would be impossible without certain work outside of the lessons and outside of class, in particular group studies.³

All of this rich material, in my view, is appropriately used precisely in the classes involved in the intensified study of the Russian language. And the oral answers and the written papers of the pupils indicate what a beneficial influence on the educational process is exerted by the interpretive material in cooperation with audio-visual aids. They are distinguished by a significantly higher level than in the ordinary class. In my view this was encouraged not only by the intensified training of the children in Russian language and literature lessons, but also the definite Russian speech environment--but you know, the children of more than a dozen nationalities are studying in our boarding school and instruction is carried out on a parallel basis in the Kirgiz and Russian languages.

For a number of years already, I have been using didactic distributing material of a not altogether ordinary character in literature lessons. These are illustrated card assignments. Such cards, as my experience shows, stimulate the cognitive-searching activity of the pupils with particular force. Work in connection with the card assignments elicits among them an increased interest in the process of cognition, develops inquisitiveness, keenness of observation. The master different forms of intellectual activity, learn to prove and defend their opinion, especially if one and the same task is given beforehand to two pupils.

Here is an approximate model of the card for the subject "Out of Mind With Grief."

In the upper left hand corner a reproduction of the portrait of Chatskiy, created by the famous illustrator N. V. Kuz'min is inserted. In the upper right corner lines from the corner which most clearly characterize the method of Chatskiy are cited: "He wants to preach freedom!" "Yes, he does not recognize the authorities!"

There further follows a glossary of supporting words and combinations of words: dignity, imitation, sincerity, and depth of feeling, which must enter firmly from this lesson into the monologue speech of the students.

And again--words from the text which complete the portrait of Chatskiy: "He would be glad to serve, to be servile is disgusting".

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The card ends with the question: "What does Chatskiy defend?" In so doing it acquires an integral, finished-composition form.

We use the card assignments in the process of the exposition of new material and, as a means of consolidation, in the following lesson.

Thus, in the lesson in which Chatskiy's monologue "And who are the judges?" is analyzed, such a card is used.

On the front side there is a reproduction of N. V. Nevrev's painting "The Auction".

On the back side there is an announcement--characteristic of the time of serfdom--from the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI: ". . . In accordance with the decision of the district court, a house will be sold at public auction, under No . . . , and in it are six souls, male and female, the sale will be in this house. Anyone interested may beforehand inspect. . ." (based on materials from A. N. Radishchev's "Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow").

Assignment. Remember, when and where did you encounter these words? Disclose the content of the reproduction.

The scene from the days of serfdom--the sale of serfs--helped the pupils to interpret the content of Chatskiy's monologue. They saw that the judges are those precisely who themselves must be judged, those who, as is not surprising, also determine public opinion; it is they whom the youth "must take as their models".

The illustrated cards make possible the broad and diverse realization of individual and differentiated work with the pupils, deepen the interest of the school children in the subject, develop independence of thought.

Having such cards available at all times, the school children, almost repeating the structure of the cards, making use of the words and quotes placed in them, easily construct their answers to the assignment, in dialogue with the teacher, their comrades, in monologue speech. In order to preserve the cards for a longer period of time, they are inserted into polyethylene bags, which the pupils make themselves with my assistance.

I have only told about one of the forms of work in classes involving the intensified study of the Russian language. It goes without saying that I do not limit myself only to these forms. Here one could also mention vocabulary books and reading diaries, which are constantly kept by the school children, and the parties dedicated to important dates, which are conducted in the Russian language, the days and weeks of the Russian language when the entire school, beginning with the children and ending with the teachers, speaks Russian, and much more.

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Such work, of course, will lead to a positive result. This may be judged by my first graduating class with intensified study of the Russian language.

The graduates of the special class are being successfully trained in the Russian language in the institutions of higher education, tekhnikums and technical schools in the capital of our republic--in medical, polytechnical, and physical education institutes, in the institute of art, in the university. My graduates are also studying outside the republic, for example in the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, in the Higher Military Educational Institute of Alma-Ata. Especially gratifying for me as a teacher is the fact that some of the girls graduated from this class are studying in the Kirgiz Pedagogical Institute for Women imeni V. V. Mayakovskiy. Some of them are preparing to become teachers of the Russian language.

There were, of course, certain difficulties in the work. They have to do above all, with the shortage of books and school supplies for the introduction of lessons along the line of special programs and electives. Our library does not have the methodological literature which is recommended for this or that course of the special class.

We have absolutely no didactic material for the Kirgiz classes. There is a shortage of collections for dictation. There are no collections of exercises, and it is desirable to provide them for every pupil.

We greatly need selections of illustrations which reflect the life and work path of the author for all classes. No less desirable is the republication of the reader "Through the Pages of Russian Soviet Literature" in sufficient quantity.

I hope that in time the shortcomings that have been noted will be eliminated. And that will make it possible to raise the work in the classes involving the intensified study of the Russian language to an even higher level.

FOOTNOTES

1. Among the materials on the experience of teachers of the republic in classes involving the intensified study of the Russian language, see E. E. Semenova, "Intensifying the Study of Russian Language and Literature," RUSSKIY YAZYK V KIRGIZSKOY SHKOLE, 1974, No 5, pp 20-22; N. P. Chernysheva, "On the Work of an Experimental Class Involving the Intensified Study of the Russian Language," RUSSKIY YAZYK v KIRGIZSKOY SHKOLE, 1974, No 4, pp 1-3; L. Ya. Konovalova, "From the Experience of Using Visual Aids in Studies of the Elective Course 'Vocabulary and Phraseology'," RUSSKIY YAZYK V KIRGIZSKOY SHKOLE, 1976, No 3, pp 6-9; G. U. Soronkulov, "Work on the Intensified Mastery of a Subject. (Studies in a Specialized Class)," RUSSKIY YAZYK V KIRGIZSKOY SHKOLE, 1978, No 3, pp 19-22 (Editorial note).

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2. See "Programs for Academic Disciplines of a Special Course for the 8th Through the 10th Classes of the Schools of the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic Involving the Intensified Study of the Russian Language and for Elective Courses in Russian Language and Literature for Secondary Schools of the Republic Instructing in the Kirgiz Language," Frunze, Mektep, 1975, pp 4-5.
3. For more detailed information on the methodology of conducting studies with materials of a similar type, see the article by N. G. Kamenetskaya, "Interpretive Materials in Lessons on the Life and Work Path of a Russian Classic Writer," RUSSKIY YAZYK V KIRGIZSKOY SHKOLE, 1975, No 2, pp 19-23; No 3, pp 20-27.

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